Volume LXXXVII No. 18 February 9, 1968 30 cents

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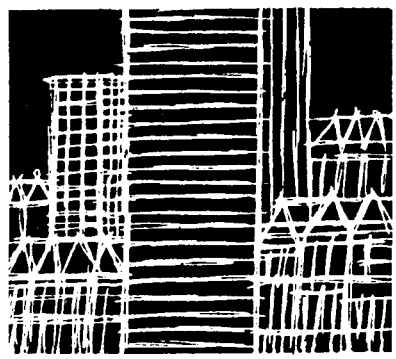

THE MORE THE MERRIER?

Robert E. Neil

WAITING FOR LYNDON

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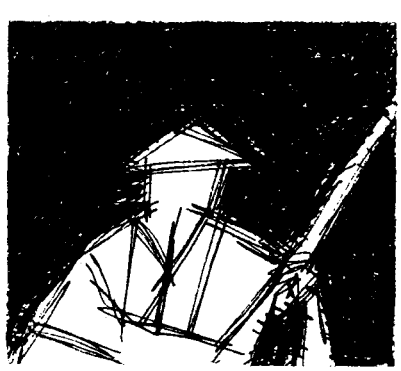

CATHOLICS IN NORTH VIETNAM

Harry Haas

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NEWS AND VIEWS

Priests and religious who engage in revolutionary activity (and you can wager that their numbers will grow, particularly in Latin America) have more than their political biases to support their involvements. They also have some key Church documents.

Pope Paul's encyclical, *Populorum Progressio*, warns that revolution produces injustices of its own, yet it concedes the possibility of recourse to "revolutionary activity . . . where there is manifest long-standing tyranny which could do great danger to fundamental personal rights and dangerous harm to the common good of the country." (31)

And Vatican II's Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, though urging restraint "to the extent that the common good demands," supports the right to revolution of people oppressed by public authority that oversteps its competence. It is "lawful" for these people "to defend their own rights and those of their fellow citizens against any abuse of this authority," the document states. (74).

In addition, there are hierarchal statements, like that of Bishop Jorge Marcos de Oliveira of Santo Andre, Brazil, who declared recently that he "would accept a popular armed revolution" against conditions of hunger and oppression.

All of which is bound to make it increasingly difficult for chanceries and religious orders to keep their priests and religious "disengaged." But this is as it should be.

•

New Statesman's "Weekend Competition" on the ends and last words of world leaders (News & Views, Jan. 19) proved a disappointment even to *NS* editors. ("At one point," they lamented, "it seems there were more protests about the unfortunate taste of the competition than there were entries.")

Among the competition runners-up were inventions of the deaths of Gamal Abdul Nasser (of an Egyptian missile that "unfortunately went 160 degrees off course"); the Pope ("when a coil he was examining unexpectedly proved live"), and Balthazar Vorster (of trauma, on being reclassified as Bantu after receiving a "coloured heart" in a transplant operation).

The grand prize (£4) went to Stanley Price for the following:

"The Concorde flew General de Gaulle's heart across the Atlantic in 3 hours 5 minutes. An hour later in Washington's Walter Reed Hospital the heart transplant was accomplished, and within 24 hours President Johnson's condition was reported to be 'miraculously improved.' A month later, back at his White House desk, he met the deteriorating Vietnam situation with a new vigour. 'Escalate,' he said. 'How far?' his aides asked; 'All the way with L. de J.' he joked; 'let's show 'em 700 million Chinese can be Wong.'

"After the Washington race riots he said 'This time they've gone too far. Enfin, America for the Americans.' And so was founded the Mississippi Mixed Kibbutz where the nation's Negroes and Jews could 'conduct meaningful dialogue in the dignity of separateness.' Abroad it soon became clear that President Pompidou was following the policies of his predecessor. Johnson's action was swift and devastating. The war was over in three days. A week later in Rheims Cathedral President Johnson was crowned Holy Roman Emperor with the crown of Charlemagne. The strain of the ceremony proved too great, and he died proclaiming *'De Gaulle c'es moi.'* Meanwhile, in London, Harold Wilson lay seriously ill . . ."

•

Add *Mennonite* magazine's voice to the swelling protest over the moral disruption being visited on the South Vietnamese by the war and the American presence. James K. Stauffer writes:

"Vietnam is dying morally. The basic moral principle of Vietnamese society, 'Do good and avoid evil,' is being thrown to the wind . . . Prostitution has skyrocketed. Eight years ago, one seldom met a drunk Vietnamese. Now, it's often. Children beg for Salems instead of candy. Gambling makes the poor poorer. Stealing, theft and robbery abound. Delinquents on motorbikes are robbing women in broad daylight and on busy streets. Stealing is listed as a profession on forms filled out by dock workers. Lying to tax officials is taken for granted. Bribery and corruption have escalated in high places."

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A Lake Worth, Fla., man, injured in an accident ruled by a jury as "an act of God," has countered with a suit against "God and Co." Papers have been served on 32 local churches and synagogues; the principal defendant is still being sought out.

•

Curious, all the flack about Eartha Kitt's speaking up to Mrs. Johnson at the recent White House discussion on crime and rioting in the cities. Fifty women were invited to the White House presumably to probe the subject openly and bluntly. Eartha Kitt's "fault" is that she took the assignment seriously, and uttered exactly what was on her mind.

The real surprise of the episode, of course, is not that one of the so-called "women-doer" seminarists should aggressively suggest a link between urban unrest and the war in Vietnam, but that this person should be Eartha Kitt.

Miss Kitt's reputation is not that of a militant. Nor has she been an activist in civil rights and anti-war causes. Until the White House clash, she was rated as restrained on both issues—which is very likely why she was on the invitation list in the first place. The White House seems to prefer bland types when it must discuss riots and the war.

Whatever, it is doubtful that the Eartha Kitt type of personal challenge is the last the Johnsons can expect. This sort of confrontation is certain to escalate. The question is, where is there to escalate to when the first two such challenges took place in a church (the Dr. Cotesworth Lewis sermon) and the White House? JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

Dissent on Marcuse

Princeton, N.J.

To the Editors: Callahan's fine article on Marcusian totalitarianism (Dec. 22) raises more immediate issues than are adequately acknowledged, particularly the significance of his final conclusion for the Vietnam war.

First, Callahan fails to point out how much the Marcusian view of our democracies' "repressive tolerance" owes to Lenin, who was among the first of modern Marxists to warn against the Establishment's subversion of the subversionists by half-way, innocuous concessions to them. One consequence, convenient for Callahan's determination not to pick up the label of "anti-Communist," is that his own final summing up is simply a repetition of all those summings-up of Communist terrorism and subversion offered in the turmoil following the First World War by a wide collection of Europe's democratic socialists, who really invented the "rhetoric" of anti-Communism.

Secondly, Callahan touches too lightly on the necessary *hierarchy* of freedoms on which societies must build. Beneath much of the anti-war clamor in this country lies the awareness of modern Freudian man of the fragility and equivocalness of the notion of "freedom." But this very conundrum is the fruit of a more foundational freedom, to make and express free enquiries. And this intellectual freedom, largely enjoyed in the West, stands on still more foundational freedoms: the freedom from being loved, to *want* to know and express, and, of course, the freedom from hunger and disease. However much we in the West have been conned out of our freedom to be authentic participants in social and political power, however much we do not enjoy the enhanced spiritualization coming from meaningful commitment to the projects of mankind as a whole, we enjoy both the physical and intellectual freedom which makes that nagging awareness

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COMMONWEAL · A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature and the Arts. Second-class postage paid in Philadelphia, Pa. Printed in the USA and published weekly, except biweekly Christmas-New Year's and July-September, by Commonweal Publishing Co, 232 Madison Ave, New York, NY 10016 MUrray Hill 3-2042. Copyright © 1968 Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc. US and Canada, $9 a year. Foreign $11.

PUEBLO AND POLITICAL PURPOSE

Several days after North Korea's seizure of the spy ship USS Pueblo, the United States was still involved in intense private diplomacy and indignant public displays aimed at getting back the Pueblo, securing the release of its crew, ending the emergency in Northeast Asia, and returning to the more agreeable business of war in Vietnam. It was a dazzling—if at this writing unsuccessful—exhibition, one in which the media played their part, dwelling dutifully on the note of crisis and speculating on the strategy that could have caused North Korea to slip into its "blunder." The North Korean "provocation" was thus made to fit into a complicated Communist scheme to lock the U.S. down tighter in Asia by opening a second front, to lift military pressure off North Vietnam, and to siphon off American men and arms from Khesanh, the new tension point in the Vietnam war.

The curious thing throughout these days was the lack of response from the American people. The propaganda *blitzkrieg* to locate responsibility for the incident entirely with the Communists and stir American passions of anger resulted only in a popular mood of cynicism and measured concern. President Johnson rushed on the airways to proclaim the gravity of the situation; Ambassador Goldberg delivered a classroom lecture, complete with charts, to the United Nations; House Armed Services Committee Chairman L. Mendell Rivers spoke of declaring war; Senator Thomas Dodd argued for impounding all North Korean ships on the high seas, and Senator Wallace Bennett suggested sending a "naval armada" into Wonsan to tow the Pueblo out. It was fire-spouting talk of the most inflammatory sort, but the sparks it generated were remarkably dull. The public continued restrained and skeptical.

This reserve of the American people is not to be accounted, of course, to any quality of the national character; the American instinct has traditionally been to overreact on matters of pride and patriotism. Nor is it to be ascribed to any inhibition dictated by the mitigating facts of the case; the skepticism was widespread before logical doubts about U.S. innocence could be drawn from the radio silences of the Pueblo and the tardy admission

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that warnings had been issued weeks ago by North Korea that it would take action against the Pueblo if it did not move its intelligence activities elsewhere. Rather, the reserve in public opinion seems rooted in a growing distrust among Americans toward the U.S. Government's own words.

It is not to be wondered at. A people lied to over the U-2, misled on the Liberty and calculatingly confused on Tonkin Gulf can hardly be expected to remain credulous indefinitely. Besides, where the Pueblo incident was concerned, there were such obvious political purposes to be served. Attention could be diverted from a new Cabinet resignation of crucial significance, that of HEW Secretary Gardner; annoying talk about a bombing halt and peace negotiations in Vietnam could be sidetracked; the pressure would be off, momentarily at least, the idea to turn the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's Tonkin Gulf investigation into the full-scale Congressional probe which the preliminary findings justify; key Navy and Air Force Reserve units could be activated without the cause being attributed to the Vietnam war; and the complements of Navy Reserve drill units could be stabilized by a freeze on discharge applications. One need not be a student of political affairs to grasp the significance of each of these in a presidential election year. Beset on the left by a peace movement with a candidate and an even larger constituency waiting for Robert Kennedy to plunge, Mr. Johnson could use the occasion to prove his "restraint" —or to prove the menace of Asian Communism, and thereby sanction increasingly tougher military measures in Vietnam and elsewhere.

In registering its sensitivity to these political advantages, the public is not cynically accusing the Administration of engineering the Pueblo incident. But it is serving oblique notice that it is aware of the dissimulation of which the Administration is capable. In its own way, this is a revelation as important as all the considerations about the extensions of American power; for without the confidence of its people, the U.S. must tailor radically its global aspirations. Senator Jacob Javits touched the nerve when he declared at the height of the Pueblo tension that American statements not only leave the country in isolation from its allies; "we don't even win the support of our own people," he commented.

When the summing up is done, this may be the greatest of modern American tragedies.

A QUESTION OF EMPATHY

If we are to believe the United Press, Eartha Kitt "stunned other guests" at that now-famous White House luncheon a few weeks ago when she denounced the war in Vietnam and high taxes. And if we are to believe the White House, Mrs. Johnson has in the weeks since been flooded with telegrams and letters, almost entirely anti-Eartha in nature, a fact which strikes us as peculiar indeed, unless one is forbidden to speak honestly to the President or the First Lady. Miss Kitt and the other guests, it will be remembered, had been invited to lunch in order to discuss the President's proposals to combat crime in the streets—a project that somehow got entangled with Mrs. Johnson's beautification program—and this is what she tried to do. "You send the best of the country off to be shot and maimed," the Negro singer said. "They rebel in the street. They will take pot and they will get high. They don't want to go to school because they're going to be snatched off from their mothers to be shot in Vietnam."

Now a sociologist might fault Miss Kitt's remarks as somewhat oversimplified, but they sound completely relevant to a discussion of crime in the streets, and one can only regret that Mrs. Johnson promptly became very upset—so upset, reporters said, that she had tears in her eyes. Given a different reaction, though, it seems to us Eartha Kitt's comments might well have triggered a useful discussion. City beautification is all very well, but as Miss Kitt remarked later: "The fact that Mrs. Johnson wants to put flowers along the driveways and trees up and down the boulevards can make a very attractive city, but that is not going to do very much good when it comes to solving the problem of juvenile delinquency."

As Mrs. Johnson suggested in her comments after the affair, part of the problem is that she, like millions of other Americans, simply has not had the experiences Eartha Kitt and most American Negroes have. There are exceptions, but it is almost axiomatic that to be black is to be poor; and it is the urban poor who are forced to live—literally—under conditions unfit for animals. In a recent survey taken in New York City, for example, one-third of the mothers on welfare reported that the buildings in which they lived were infested by rats. It is from families like these that the rat-bitten children come every winter to the hospital emergency rooms; it is families like these that sometimes leave their lights on all night in an effort to discourage attacks by the rats. And it is families like these whose children leave home to fight, sometimes in Vietnam and sometimes on the streets, in Newark or Milwaukee or almost any other American city.

No one asks that Mrs. Johnson and other comfortable Americans share such experiences, but is it impossible for them to understand something of what it means to

H.A.R.

It is with deep regret that we learn of the death in Pittsburgh of Father H. A. Reinhold, the distinguished pioneer of the liturgical movement in this country and longtime contributor to these pages. Father Reinhold was a close friend and adviser of many years standing, as well as a contributor, and we shall miss him and his counsel. May he rest in peace.

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grow up in America's ghetto slums? Is it impossible for them to understand that Eartha Kitt spoke for millions of other American Negroes? Is it impossible for middle-class America to understand even a little of what it means to be an outsider in one's own country? Mrs. Johnson's negative reaction and the reported flood of letters protesting Eartha Kitt's remarks are profoundly discouraging. It should be obvious to all that the time to face the problem in our cities is running out, fast. As one speaker put it recently, the United States is a nation "torn apart by a race conflict that runs very deep," and he added, "We expect war in the streets next summer." And no, Mrs. Johnson, the speaker was not Rap Brown or Stokely Carmichael; it was Richard Nixon.

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MEDDLING IN BRAZIL

THE CIA BUNGLES ON

With the approach of the first anniversary of the revelation of CIA involvement in scores of private organizations comes news from Brazil of new CIA meddling in trade union activity there, through the use of an American union as conduit and cover. Interestingly, the exposure was headline news in Brazil, but it has been completely blacked out of the American press.

The pattern is the familiar one of a nominally private organization—in this case the International Federation of Petroleum and Chemical Workers (IFPCW), an American union—buying influence and intelligence with CIA money. The story comes complete with documentation in the form of a list of payoffs.

The two spheres most congenial for the CIA's system of using private organizations as fronts have been international student and international labor activity. They provide the Agency with an entrée to leftist, activist foreign organizations that often are the focal points of activity hostile to American interests. In the case of the student operation, the system was blown wide open, largely because NSA had a guilty conscience and told all. Labor, on the other hand, which has been a much bigger operation, made poker-faced denials, and has continued to function. The liaison between the American Institute of Free Labor Development (AIFLD) and the CIA has been exposed many times, but AIFLD has not been put out of business. It continues to function as one of the pet projects of Jay Lovestone, George Meany's Communism expert.

The International Federation of Petroleum and Chemical Workers was one of those traced to the CIA through the NSA revelations. According to its own financial report, it received $30,000 from the Andrew Hamilton Foundation, a CIA front. Since 1965, it and the AIFLD have been active in Brazil to encourage Brazil's petrochemical unions to affiliate with their North American counterpart. This is part of the CIA's continuing effort to influence Latin American trade unions to be primarily apolitical craft guilds, on the assumption that the politics of Latin unions will be anti-U.S. Apolitical unionism, though traditional in the U.S., runs counter to the whole tradition of the Latin American trade union movement, which is attempting to evolve a larger social perspective than the simple meat-and-potatoes philosophy of North American labor leaders. IFPCW's activity has been the principal cause of the failure of Brazil's 16 petroleum unions to unite in a National Federation of Petroleum Workers. The unions have remained fragmented largely because of IFPCW interference. (On the other hand, Brazilian locals are warmly encouraged to affiliate with ORIT, the Interamerican Regional Organization of Workers, a creation of the AFL-CIO in Latin America, which also promotes apolitical unionism North American style.)

The AIFLD was the prime mover behind the drive to affiliate the Brazilians with the IFPCW through the use of financial loans to favored unions. Earlier allegations of CIA involvement led the petroleum unions to decide against affiliation in late October, 1967.

Then, in December, documentation was uncovered by a São Paulo trade union leader, Egisto Demonicali. This was in the form of a complete list of payoffs and other expenditures prepared for Alberto Ramos, the IFPCW representative in Brazil, and a note from Ramos to Alcy Nogueira, of the São Paulo office. It states:

"I have with me 45,000,000 cruzeiros ($16,666.67) for you to distribute to the unions for campaigns in accordance with our plans. If you are not available before tomorrow, then arrange to be here on Wednesday, since I will be in Rio conversing with Velasquez about other trips to the U.S." Attached was an itemized expense sheet, implicating high level government officials, labor leaders, newsmen, a general, in accepting bribes. Services rendered ranged from petty favors to the rigging of union elections. Samples:

Bonus to Jose Abud for his collaboration	$156.25
Special payment for Dr. Jorge M. Filho of Labor Ministry	$875.00
Trip for Mr. Glaimbore Guimasaes, our informer at Fegundes St.	$ 56.25
Photocopies of books and documents of Petroleum Federation	$100.00
Assistance to Guedes and Eufrasio to defeat Luis Furtado of the Suzano Union	$140.64

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Bonus to Carlos Feliz Nunez, labor reporter, for giving us favorable coverage $312.50
Bonus to Lt. Brandani of the National Investigation Service, for help with confidential information $564.48

The leading daily of Rio de Janeiro, *Ultima Hora*, ran a banner headline on Dec. 21 stating "Outsiders Send Money for Subversion in Brazil." A front page editorial warned of the serious implications. The leader of the Rio oil workers union, Lourival Coutinho, presented the case of the petroleum workers to Government and opposition politicians through a petition, and 219 Deputies requested the formation of a Congressional Investigating Committee to consider the scope of activities by the IFPCW and other international labor organizations detrimental to Brazilian sovereignty. The Federal Chamber of Deputies approved the formation of a nine-man panel, which began hearings on January 15. President Costa e Silva issued an Executive Order calling for the prosecution of government, military and labor officials involved, and denouncing the IFPCW by name. On Jan. 19, the IFPCW was expelled from Brazil.

The story is worth retelling because it illustrates some points which may have been forgotten since last February. First, the issue was never the rightness or wrongness of the CIA's "funding private organizations," as the American public generally saw the dilemma. The Agency does not "fund" them. It integrates them into its network as a means of gathering intelligence and exerting influence. Second, regardless of the Presidential panel's conclusion that such activity must stop, it is continuing. And most importantly, regardless of the short-run gains, such as the generation of pro-American leaders in labor and student groups, the long-term effect of such activity is to produce and perpetuate a profound distrust of the United States. It would be much more in America's interest to cease interfering with these processes, so that when reactionaries are displaced it is not invariably necessary to displace the United States with them. Perhaps cynicism about American intentions is beyond reclamation.

The fact that no news of this misadventure reached the U.S. press, although the wire services and the major newspapers are aware of it, is ominous, however one interprets it. Either someone has enough leverage to squelch the story, or else nobody thinks it newsworthy—which in a way is the more alarming construction. ERNEST GARVEY

(Ernest Garvey is the pseudonymn of a free-lance writer based in Washington, D.C.)

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THE CONFUSED SOCIAL APOSTOLATE

HOUSING THE POOR

Perhaps nothing so well evidences the blandly bourgeois aspect of American Catholicism over the last 20 years as its dismal record on the housing crisis. The dimensions of the present sad condition in the United States may be highlighted for the purposes of emphasis by the situation in New York City. Usually New York is not any different—it is only bigger. Some of the statistical realities are frightening. There are approximately a hundred thousand families each year possessing a handful of small card receipts, after having applied to the New York City Housing Authority every six months for years. For such hopefuls, a total of 7,000 new public housing apartments were made available in 1966 and 1967. But during the same period, some 9,000 dwelling units or apartments were made available with a variety of public aids in the so called middle-income range. The middle-class grab of public subsidy is possible in New York State because of its Limited Profit Housing Company Act. The Mitchell-Lama Law—called after the two legislators who got it passed, and whose legal and architectural firms then made money on sponsorships under the legislation, to little apparent public distaste or investigation—provides to a developer the incentive of up to 50 percent relief on the taxes of his new structure, as well as cheaper mortgage money than private resources can provide. In urban renewal areas, written-down land cost, under Title One of the slum clearance clause of the Federal Housing Act, provides a third subsidy.

The results are obvious. In the New York West Side Urban Renewal Area, some tenants are occupying cooperative quarters for $22 per room, which under conventionally financed development would have cost them about $75. In many Mitchell-Lamas, however, "middle-income" families making over $20,000 are accepted, since these developments are tenanted by several magic formulas of income and rent.

On the other hand, with the poorest whose need is the greatest, 75 percent of the families of five or more members making less than $6,000 a year could not find an apartment in the City of New York that they could afford. To make matters worse, the great liberal program of rent supplement (which took riots to convince Congress to fund even niggardly) is, when studied in the light of the needs of the poor, a bit of a federal fraud. For example, according to the rent supplement manual, a family is supposed to pay 25 per cent of its gross income, with little or no adjustment downward, and yet cannot be making more than $6,100. Hence a three-bedroom apartment would have to rent for $118 a month, while in traditional public housing in New York City the same

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flat could run as low as $75 a month, including utilities. The rent supplement program could, in effect, leave a family without money for food or other necessities! Over 30 years of experience finds the New York City Housing Authority housing poor families at close to 16 percent of adjusted net income. Even then, apart from full welfare and welfare supplement families, since incomes go higher than $8,000, it cannot boast too loudly of housing the really poor.

Those who speak with great feeling for the poor are deceived by rent supplement: it has much less pertinence to the housing needs of the poor in our urban slums than enlightened public housing. The apostolate needed is the promotion of justice through the proper administration of laws which are good at least in the lawmakers' intentions. The basic human right to—and need for—decent shelter is not only cynically ignored by our society but it is even made more impossible of achievement by the quality of our public policies.

Urban renewal is not necessarily poor removal, nor is it necessarily immoral, as some have maintained. However, its implementation throughout the United States has only rarely been used to do anything to meet the housing needs of those it has caused to be displaced. The new term, of course, is "model cities," which is merely a promise of what might be done in the next few years. It theoretically will combine local involvement and social renewal in ways that many have called for since the days of bulldozer renewal. But legislative tools are as good as their use. Public monies in the form of reduced land cost, cheap mortgages, and tax relief for developers—all of these have been and are being used to take care of the less needy. The moderate income program of the State of New York (which was a model for the federal program) is projecting housing that will cost over $40 a room though it was originally talked of as providing housing costing beween $21 and $30 a room.

Now the churches and non-profit groups are invited by legislation, convention oratory and Urban America, Inc. to share in the great undertaking of providing such "moderate" or "middle-income" housing. It would seem to be using the moral force, and at times even the assistance of technicians paid by the religious dollar, to provide housing for those who have a need perhaps, but not those who might be considered poor. The whole question of the church-related sponsorship of housing might also be reconsidered in light of the thinking of a pilgrim church somewhat less burdened with material possessions, such as buildings and real estate. Why has not the self-help cooperative philosophy and formula for housing been endorsed and promoted in the United States by the Christian church? It has been for over 30 years virtually a Jewish trade union monopoly. Yet it was highly recommended as long ago as 1953 by Pope Pius XII on the fiftieth anniversary of the inauguration of public housing in the city of Rome. And it was endorsed by Pope John XXIII as a social form most consonant with Christian thinking.

The urban slum outbreaks of recent summers always result in "agonized reappraisals" of the ghetto problem. A furor of emergency repairs or of public relation gimmicks like instant rehabilitation of tenements results, but no great over-all assault on slum housing has yet been forthcoming. Proposals to clear the slums by making it profitable for private enterprise raise many questions. Private enterprise has had a chance under slum clearance and under urban renewal to cooperate with governmental programs to provide new housing. It has provided the new housing where the rental dollar was most available and most numerous. Title I slum clearance resulted in luxury housing, and after that urban renewal, Mitchell-Lama, or 221, d, 3, has been resulting in an ever-upward level of middle-income housing. Even under this last and least tried program, the church-affiliated Tompkins Square Neighbors in New York City is producing over $27-a-room housing, which can only be seen as the usual "institutional kick" to keep "our kind of people" in the neighborhood; similarly The Tri-Faith Development in New York's Yorkville.

All of the socialistic aids of public monies have been given to private housing developers. Now it would seem time for some specifically concrete and poor-oriented controls to be imposed upon their activity to guarantee low rents.

So much still depends on public understanding, which regrettably confuses today's poverty with its remembered kind. It is popular for those who have made their way out of the poverty of a generation or two ago to recall nostalgically the life of the slum. The tenement becomes almost romantic, as Jane Jacobs would have us believe a five-story walk-up can be. Some made-it-the-hard-way affluent Americans, for example, look upon public housing projects as not having improved the housing lot of their residents. They lament such living as having institutionalized the poor. Not many of them have ever asked the poor how they feel about public housing, nor have they visited the broadly diverse examples of such housing. Public housing, therefore, suffered a bad image (and defeat in three New York State referenda), just as it was improving its actual performance in terms of size, design and humane management.

The romanticizers of the past slums should remember that the very tenements they moved out of years ago are the homes of today's more tightly mired poor. One big difference is that today most of the structures cannot even be insured against fire. It is from such rundown and worn-out dwelling places that the social fires that rage through our cities each summer are apt to come for many years more.

HENRY J. BROWNE

(Father Henry J. Browne is chairman of the Strycker's Bay Community Action Project, a program sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity in New York City.)

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Two hundred million Americans and still growing

THE MORE THE MERRIER?

ROBERT E. NEIL

When the Census Bureau's clock ticked off the arrival of the 200-millionth American recently, President Johnson beamed with pride and pleasure, even if his speech had been interrupted. In doing so he undoubtedly expressed a national consensus notably lacking on other public issues of late. Any opinion poll would show that most Americans regard our growing population with boosterish complacency.

We know, of course, that mankind as a whole is generating an unprecedented population explosion, but it seldom occurs to us that any part of this "mushroom crowd" hangs over our own heads. Most Americans dismiss the population explosion as something that concerns only the backward countries—starving Indians on the Huntley-Brinkley Report. And so we propose to send them the Coil or the Pill so that we can stop sending them food. After all, technical devices like these have enabled us to achieve population "control."

On the rare occasions when Americans bother to think at all about their own rapidly growing numbers, they generally assume that this increase must be an important factor in our constantly rising living standard. Another Peruvian is another malnutrition statistic. But a new American is a lovable little GNP-stimulator. His birth is growth-inducing for the economy as well as for himself.

This is a natural assumption. Depending on his or her sex, the 200-millionth American can expect to live to age 66 or 73 and in the process will consume tons of goods and demand thousands of dollars worth of services. Furthermore, during some of these years he will probably be a producer as well as a consumer of goods and services. Our new *Homo americanus* is thus a double good for the way of life that he has arrived to enjoy.

Or is he? Is it really true that we can go on indefinitely adding between 2 and 3 million people a year to our population without damaging our way of life? How many more Detroits can we absorb? There are nearly half as many Americans today as there were human beings only three centuries ago when we were still an insignificant colonial offshoot of Europe. And by the year 2000 there will be half again as many of us as there are now. How much longer can expansion at this rate (a deceptively modest-looking 1.4 percent per annum) continue?

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Clearly the population will have to stop growing sometime. Both the human species in general and its American subdivision in particular will have to stabilize their numbers at some point this side of infinity. Anybody capable of plugging values into the compound interest formula can easily demonstrate that this is a logical necessity.

In the backward countries, it is already a biological necessity. According to the U.S. Department of Agriculture, roughly three out of every four people in these countries receive less than the recommended minimum daily caloric intake. Indeed, many of these starving peoples are actually hungrier now than they were several decades ago, before social scientists and government bureaucrats had discovered them and promoted them to "developing" nations. In large parts of the world the population is simply growing faster than the food supply. This is true mainly because outside medical assistance has sharply reduced deaths due to disease. Eventually, however, unless birth rates are reduced correspondingly, death rates will begin to rise again as malnutrition overtakes medicine. If the job of stabilizing population with respect to resources is left to nature, then the backward peoples will find that they have simply traded in quick death for lingering death—the sort of change that the Germans call a *Verschlimmbesserung* (an "improvement" that makes things worse).

A highly advanced country like the United States does not, of course, face any such crisis, at least not immediately. In purely quantitative terms we can doubtless accommodate many more Americans. We still have lots of empty space, and we already have or can develop the technology to support a much larger population. In qualitative terms, however, it is by no means so certain that we can long maintain, still less improve, our present way of life under mounting protoplasmic pressure. Here is where we may well meet our *Verschlimmbesserung*. If it is a logical necessity that we must stabilize our population sooner or later, then it is a cultural necessity that we do it now.

The reason is simple: where a country like India exemplifies the problems of underdevelopment, the United States illustrates those of overdevelopment. These problems of overdevelopment, as any newspaper reader knows, are already nearing the level of a national emergency. A continued rapid growth of the population will only speed

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the coming of this crisis and render it more intractable. Why should we magnify the problems of the future unnecessarily?

The quantitative effects of overpopulation on an underdeveloped country are obvious to everybody. Such countries are not only the natural prey of malnutrition, starvation and disease resulting from physical weakness—which is bad enough—but, still worse, they are unable to accumulate enough capital to finance the modernization needed to get them out of their sorry plight. The so-called "developing countries" are not in fact developing because they are literally eating up their capital, including that provided through outside assistance. Furthermore, since a certain amount of development (increased literacy, improved living standards, more doctors) seems to be the prerequisite for a successful program of population control, but since the backward countries have been unable to achieve these gains on a meaningful scale, they find themselves caught in a vicious circle. Overpopulation prevents material progress which in turn thwarts population control, and the spiral works its way constantly downward. The leaders of the "third world" are periodically jolted out of the dreamland of their four- and five-year plans to deal with the simple quantitative problem of keeping their people alive.

Similar Problems

The qualitative effects of overpopulation on an overdeveloped country are not so obvious, but they are there all the same. Air pollution, water pollution, noise ("ear pollution"), traffic congestion, overburdened public services—these and similar problems, common to all the advanced countries, are seriously reducing the quality of our life, and all of them stem from the fact that there are simply too many people.

There are too many people, that is, in comparison with our present ability to organize an industrial, urban society. It must be remembered that such a society is a very recent invention of mankind. It is also very radical. From prehistoric times until only about 200 years ago most men lived on the land (three out of five Americans still did as late as 1900). Rural life had to it a built-in order derived from the natural rhythms of agriculture. Rural life also had the man-made order provided by customs tradition-hardened over many generations. In comparison with this, the urban, industrial societies in which the advanced peoples live today are an entirely new and still rather artificial environment for the human species. They possess few natural rhythms and fewer hardened customs. Still more painful, they have not yet settled, as man's agrarian mode of life did, into a relatively stable, permanent pattern. Perhaps they never will, but certainly it is safe to say that at present the urban-industrial complexes of the advanced countries are still evolving so rapidly that they are generating new problems faster than they are being solved. President Harding's "normalcy" simply does not exist in the overdeveloped countries.

The most intriguing question for an extraterrestrial anthropologist observing our planet over the millennia would surely be whether this sudden, radical departure from man's traditional mode of life can be stabilized to become the pattern of the future, or whether it will turn out to be merely a fluke, a flash in the pan. A correlated question that such an observer would also ask would be whether technological society, supposing that it can be stabilized in today's advanced countries, can then be extended to the rest of the world and thus become a new departure for all mankind. These, of course, are questions that would hardly occur to a watch-us-grow Chamber of Commerce secretary.

Indeed, we Americans seem particularly reluctant to admit that there is any connection between the growth of our population and the proliferation of our social problems. (It is a sweet-sour irony that we share this reluctance with our ideological opposites: Marxist true believers—witness the fluctuations in Chinese birth-control policy—are as loath as free-enterprise boosters to admit that their social system cannot really absorb an indefinite number of people, that there must be a ceiling on Utopia.) Confronted by smog and traffic jams, we Americans prefer to say that the trouble is too many cars instead of too many commuters. We treat the symptoms rather than the disease, the proximate rather than the final cause of our problems. We would rather regulate sewers and smokestacks than stabilize our population.

This American reluctance to admit that demography makes a difference is curious because it is here, of all places, that the strains which overpopulation puts on the quality of life in an overdeveloped country ought to be most obvious. After all, as the most overdeveloped major nation in the world, we are naturally confronted in particularly serious form with all of the general problems of advancement (just as India is with those of backwardness). To cite some random examples, in recent months the news media have reported that Lake Michigan is dying, that a cabinet member advocates restricting the use of cars in cities, that the government can already get a court order to shut down factories and stop cars in time of smog danger, that another cabinet member believes that we will have a general water famine by the 1980's, and that a HEW study group is looking into the possibility that the government may someday have to tell people where they can live. The ultimate cause of problems like these is that there are already too many Americans—grotesquely maldistributed—with respect to our present ability to organize their society in a rational fashion to meet human needs.

This is well illustrated by a uniquely American aspect of the problem of overdevelopment—our Negro proletariat. At the moment, our society is so badly structured

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that many of its members cannot derive the full potential benefits from our economy, nor can they contribute to it their full talents. In the lower social strata, the economic costs of a growing population are thus greater than the actual economic gains. This need not be the case. There is no good reason why we should not educate enough people and pay them well enough to provide the services that we need at a reasonable cost. And there is no purely economic reason why, with growing per capita productivity, we should not all live better. But, at the moment, there are all manner of social obstacles to this. These social obstacles need to be removed; to do so will be profitable as well as morally right. *Newsweek* magazine estimates, for instance, that if we removed the barriers to full Negro participation in economic life, the GNP would go up by some $23.7 billion a year. It is obvious, however, that the removal of these barriers is going to be an enormous social challenge under the best of conditions. A rapidly growing population—especially one in which the Negro birth rate is higher than the white—is going to force us to face such problems under the worst of conditions.

Let us return to the questions raised by our outside anthropologist: whether technological society can be stabilized in the advanced countries and extended to today's backward ones. It is too early to give a definitive answer to either, but we can already say with confidence what the effects of continued population growth on these problems will be.

First, if the populations of the underdeveloped countries continue to expand at the present rate, then worldwide economic modernization is a pipe dream. Second, if the populations of the advanced countries continue to grow rapidly, then the stabilization of technological society, if it comes at all, will only be achieved through crushing governmental regulation. One might put this into a formula as follows: growing socio-economic complexity + growing population = growing regimentation. Each additional American is not only a little GNP-stimulator, he is also a freedom-diminisher.

Finally, a growing population in both the over- and the underdeveloped countries is bound to increase the mounting tensions between them. Each additional American, owing to our high living standard, will consume a disproportionate share of the world's resources. And he will do so at a time when these resources are getting scarcer and scarcer. This will be true of even the most basic resource of them all—food. In a much-overlooked bulletin released jointly by the Departments of State and Agriculture last year, it is stated flatly that by 1984 (!) no amount of aid from the food-surplus countries, even if we turned loose our full productive capacity, would be able, if present trends continue, to prevent massive famine in the have-not nations.

The United States and the other advanced countries do not exist in a vacuum. We live in luxury in a world the majority of whose people live in want. The economically-based race tensions in our own country are merely a scale model of the situation in the world as a whole—and an inexact one at that, since the colored poor constitute a majority in the world's population. If the situation at home is growing more and more explosive, what can we expect abroad? Many Americans find it hard to understand how the backward peoples can accuse us of "imperialism." But modern imperialism does not require the possession of old-fashioned colonies. It merely requires the existence of more and more Americans living well in a world that is starving.

We should all feel a little ambivalent about that 200-millionth gringo!

Co-existence is a fact

CATHOLICS IN NORTH VIETNAM

HARRY HAAS

Little detailed information is available about the situation of Catholics in North Vietnam. But one thing is certain: their isolation is not simply due to the political system in power. As with the Church in many other Communist countries, Catholics in North Vietnam have been virtually written off by their fellows in the rest of the world.

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There are two reasons for this. The first is the assumption that a Communist government will automatically paralyze, if not eliminate, its Number One enemy: the Church. This is an exaggeration of the Communist fear of Catholicism, and implies a certain fatalism on the part of Catholics. It puts too much faith in the Marxist dialectic, which posits that Communism is inevitable in all societies. People who hold this view are really subconscious Marxists.

The second reason is common to Catholics in both

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Communist and non-Communist countries. They are all too prone to adopt a black-and-white ideological attitude to the Communist-Catholic dichotomy, so that they become incapable of thinking in terms of people—Communist people and Catholic people—as Pope John encouraged them to do. This has led to an almost masochistic delight among Catholics over each new persecution of the Church.

Contacts with Catholics in East Germany, Poland and Cuba, and a careful study of their situation, leads to a more complex assessment of the problem. The first fact that emerges is that in no two countries has the confrontation of Catholicism and Communism been the same. The second is that the actual situation of the Church in each country varies according to socio-economic, cultural and political factors—particularly within the Church—and is not just a matter of abstract, idealized doctrinal differences. In other words, there is no such thing as a Catholic monolith. Thirdly, the Communist and Catholic worlds are both going through a period of profound change, which means one must be always prepared to accept new information.

The Church in North Vietnam is in many ways the same as the Church anywhere, but it has certain features which make it unique. Perhaps the most important of these is that it played an important role in the struggle of the Viet Minh against the Japanese. Catholics worked side by side with Communists, Socialists, Nationalists and Buddhists in a common movement for national liberation. Similar united fronts were formed against the Nazis in Europe; but what makes Vietnam a special case is that the undisputed leader of the struggle was a Communist—Ho Chi Minh.

When the Japanese surrendered in 1945, Ho declared the country independent. His speech at that time was remarkable, combining as it did the ideas of the French Revolution, the American Declaration of Independence and the Declaration of Human Rights. The Communist cadres then proceeded to eliminate their rivals and took control. Yet there was no direct persecution of the Church. Certainly, some of Ho's opponents were Catholics, and some undoubtedly opposed him on ideological grounds. But Catholics who had no political affiliations were ignored by the Communists, who were far more interested in preventing any challenge to their power.

When the French returned in force, the Viet Minh revived their armed resistance, and many Catholics joined them. The strength of their allegiance is perhaps best shown by the fact that when, in 1954, some 100,000 Vietnamese left the South for the North, several thousand of them were Catholics—members of the Viet Minh; five priests went with them. Anyone familiar with the anti-Nazi resistance in Europe will understand this; nationalism can bind the most diverse forces together in a common aim.

Another reason why Catholics were happy to join the Viet Minh was that political indoctrination was still at a rudimentary stage. It was not until 1955 that the North Vietnamese Communist Party really began to inculcate its ideas into the armed forces, which were mainly composed of unsophisticated patriots. In the same way, the Chinese Communists left it until after the defeat of Chiang Kai-shek to make their army a politically conscious body.

The Catholics who joined the Viet Minh were therefore unaware of how much it was dominated by Communists. Had they been, they might have kept their identity more, and contributed to the lessening of Communist power and the establishment of a more pluralistic system after victory was won. On the other hand, they could also have been eliminated as a political force.

The Catholics who did not join were mostly those who lived in totally Catholic villages, under the patriarchal leadership of their priests. These people, especially those in the country to the South of Hanoi, represented a rather anachronistic prolongation of medieval Christendom. Their horizon was the paddy field and the church spire; their vision did not extend beyond the priest, the parish, the diocese, and, of course, heaven.

When the Japanese surrendered, they left no administrative structure intact. Le Huu Tu, the bishop of Phat Diem, organized a Christian militia for the maintenance of order. It was led by Father Hoang Quynh, who has, until recently, been the political leader of the Catholic refugees in the South. When the time came to choose between the French and the Viet Minh, most Catholics chose the French. By now the Viet Minh was considered a Communist organization, and any collaboration with it would be suicidal. Ho Chi Minh invited bishop Le Huu Tu to join his council. He accepted, for tactical reasons, suspecting that Ho's motives were also purely tactical. He eventually died in voluntary exile in Saigon; before his death, in May 1967, he expressed the view that any negotiations with the NLF would lead to the acceptance of it in a coalition, or at least to its presence as an opposition party. Rather than this, he said, he would prefer to see a mass exodus of South Vietnamese Catholics to America or Australia.

It is not hard to find reasons for the negative attitudes of such Church leaders. For one thing, the Communists had ousted their rivals from the Viet Minh in 1945-6. For another, news had come through of the ruthless treatment of missionaries, Catholics and indigenous clergy by the Chinese Communists when they took over. Above all, there was the Cold War, the dread of Communism as a world-wide conspiracy. These people could not know that the persecution of Catholics was often more for political reasons than religious; nor was the example of Indonesia—where a tiny minority of Christians played a major part in the nation's struggle—yet available to them.

In 1954, the year of the great decision, the Catholics had 300 days to make up their minds. Some 750,000 fled in a dramatic, well-organized exodus. The bishop of Bui

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Chu led the move in some dioceses, but on the whole it was the parish priests who decided. In many cases, the people took with them nothing more than church furnishings—crosses, statues and bells.

Four Bishops Go South

Those who chose to leave were the educated Catholics, most of the clergy, and a large following of simple faithful. But many poor and uneducated rickshaw-pullers, craftsmen, peddlers and workers remained in Hanoi. Catholics in coastal areas tended to migrate; those in regions remote from the capital tended to stay. Ease of transport was not the main factor, for in the Southern diocese of Vinh only 28 percent of the Catholics left. Four bishops—those of Phat Diem, Bui Chu, Hai Phong and Bac Ninh—went South; but in Bui Chu and Phat Diem only half of the faithful followed them. It is clear that some decided to stay because of their allegiance to the Viet Minh, just as some Southern Catholics marched North for the same reason. But love of native soil and a strong bond with the ancestral tombs probably outweighed political or ideological motives.

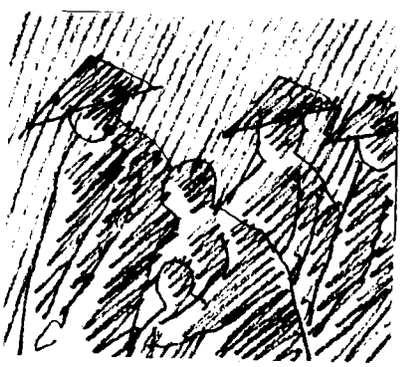
Two bishops—those of Hanoi and Binh—tried hard to stop their clergy from going away. Bishop Trinh Nhu Khues of Hanoi even threatened his priests with ecclesiastical discipline if they did not stay, and recalled those who were studying abroad; 70 percent of them disobeyed all the same, and went South. The bishop of Vinh was more successful, losing only 36 percent of his clergy. The bishops' concern not to lose their priests was undoubtedly based on a genuine feeling that pastoral work would suffer as a result of the exodus. This has proved to be the case. All in all, some 40 percent of the laity left, and 70 percent of the priests, leaving 300 priests—many now old and feeble—to care for about 800,000 Catholics.

On the day of the armistice, Ho Chi Minh and his cabinet attended solemn high Mass in the cathedral of Hanoi. On July 14, 1955, a decree on religion was promulgated, defending freedom of belief and of worship, and leaving the Church with enough property to eke out a meager existence. The decree also left room for foreign missionaries, and declared allegiance to the Pope a private matter. This was very different from the treatment the Church received in China, where Catholics were compelled to break with Rome. No doubt Ho was being realistic, but the role of Catholics in the Viet Minh must have influenced his decision.

Socialization inevitably affected the Church. It was laid down that religion could only be taught in church buildings, that people would decide the income of the clergy and that the activities of the Church must be submitted to the State authorities for approval. Some Catholics accepted this procedure with a good grace, considering it the best available under the circumstances. Others remained suspicious about the ultimate aims of the government with regard to religion.

The over-all situation could have been much worse. Some missionaries died in prison during the war, and there was a certain amount of local harassment—whether due to persecution, the exigencies of war or mere personal feuding it is difficult to say. But the seminaries functioned, the Catholic press was quite vigorous and the people's personal piety was better than ever. Catholic schools were nationalized, but retained their religious staff.

Then two waves of social reform hit the country, and inevitably affected the Church. In the winter of 1955, there was a strict redistribution of land. Farmers in the Catholic areas were better organized and led than others, and put up some resistance, but the Church made no official protest, despite the loss of most of her land. In 1956, after harsh reprisals against resisting peasants, the ruling group suffered a split, and the Church was given



a valuable breathing-space. She profited from this time to stage a great revival, partly helped by new developments in French theology and catechetics (there were still foreign missionaries in the country). A further government crackdown occurred in 1958. The Catholic press was nationalized, the foreign missionaries were expelled, religious personnel were taken out of the schools and at least one seminary was closed. Many bishops and priests were put under house arrest. These two periods of difficulty for the Church were both caused by the predominance in the Communist Party of the more radical, dogmatic and pro-Chinese wing, represented by Ho Chi Minh.

Since 1954, there have been marked tensions within the Church over the socialist policy of the Communist government. In 1955, priests and laymen organized an "Association of Patriotic Catholics," which continued the tradition of supporting the Viet Minh. This movement is not really comparable to the "Pax" groups in Czechoslovakia and Hungary, exclusively clerical groups which sprang up after the Communist takeover, in a bid to salvage what they could. It is more like the group of clergy and laity in Cuba, who have persisted until now in their support for Castro's revolution. In both countries, the majority of the bishops and clergy have remained

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suspicious—not without reason—of the tactics of the Communists. Those Catholics who support the revolution, however, remain loyal to the government, without accepting the atheism of Marxism and Leninism.

In North Vietnam, unpleasant incidents occurred within the Church as a result of some "patriotic" priests' voicing their opinions without the consent—and sometimes against the wishes—of the bishops. The hierarchy, as a whole, tended to concentrate more and more on developing the piety of the Catholic community, instead of supporting the forceful minority of priests and laymen who wished to contribute actively to the reconstruction of their devastated country and the desperate fight for survival. In those days, of course, there was no such thing as a dialogue between Christians and Marxists. The rejection by Popes Pius XI and XII of "atheistic Communism" had reinforced the basic mistrust which Church leaders felt towards the Communists, a mistrust which had grown with the waves of collectivism and socialization. Another major obstacle to any positive policy of cooperation was the "mission mentality." Catholics too easily assumed that anything which threatened their traditional mission institutions was a threat to the faith itself. This defensive and introverted attitude is common to most mission countries, and in some places it is far worse than in North Vietnam today.

In 1960, the foreign missionaries were expelled, and news became scarce. No North Vietnamese bishops took part in the Council in Rome. Most of the seminaries, partly for financial reasons (nationalization, the loss of foreign aid, the exodus of the wealthy Catholics to the South), but mainly for lack of staff, had to be closed. The life of the Church, however, was not checked. From all accounts, it has flourished, and loyalty to the Pope is strong. The only functioning seminaries are in Vinh, and few new priests are being ordained; but hundreds of full-time lay catechists and many women's groups have shored up the structure of the Church and compensated for the loss of clergy. Unfortunately, the continued isolation of the Church in North Vietnam means that the recent renewal brought about by the Vatican Council, which has offered alternatives to the classical seminary system, has not penetrated. Even if it had, it would be slow to be applied; for it seems to be a general rule that Catholic communities in Communist countries tend to cling to the traditional ways, as if afraid of losing everything.

The young generation of Catholics is undoubtedly inhibited in its adherence to the faith. It is still too soon to know how deeply the young people are being affected by the Marxism-Leninism taught in schools, youth movements and civic organizations. One gets the impression that there is a kind of coexistence allowed—a practical commitment to social reform and a spiritual devotion to the Church. Young Catholics do not seem to have been forced yet to rethink their faith in terms of Marxist doctrine, nor have they begun to interpret Marxism in the light of Christianity. Even allowing for the lack of intellectual talent among the Catholic community, a prolonged symbiosis of Marxist and Christian strains must result in some sort of cross-breeding. In this case, the Catholic strain would probably be the weaker partner.

Reliable reports from the Patriotic Catholic group indicate that the war in the South, and particularly the American bombing of the North, have done more than anything to draw the Church together. They are all North Vietnamese, after all, and nationalism is rampant. The war is a national effort, a heroic struggle to defeat the "American aggressors." Added to this, a large number of churches, several convents and at least one seminary have been bombed.

The Northern Catholics are well aware of the peace moves made by Pope Paul. In addition they share the universal admiration for Pope John. On the other hand, they also know about the late Cardinal Spellman's attitude to the war, and they have criticized Pope Paul for not having rebuked him strongly enough. They feel the Pope is not well informed, for he campaigns for peace without at the same time naming the Americans as aggressors. Perhaps it is they themselves who are ill informed. Nevertheless, the main thing is that they learn of every Catholic protest against the war, and they receive such news gladly. This will strengthen their position in the country, and may even result in more profound reflection on the role of Christians in society. It could also help them to break out of their isolation.

Nationalism in itself is not enough; it does not necessarily stimulate renewal in the Church. Catholics of North Vietnam will have to go further, building on the unity they now have and their growing good favor with the government, to become the leaven they should be. This is the only way the spirit of Christ can make an authentic impact on a nation under Communist rule. Nothing could be more detrimental, in this respect, than for Christians in the world outside Vietnam to dismiss their Vietnamese brothers as lost. On the one hand, they must acknowledge the Church in Vietnam as very much alive; on the other, they must do all in their power to pursue the dialogue with Communism, giving praise where praise is due, and criticizing where there are faults.

AN APPEAL: Because of a prolonged drought in that torrid land, 200 low-caste children in an orphanage conducted by the vicariate of Kerala are in urgent need of a new source of water. "A good well sufficient for supplying water for all these children may cost some $500." Gifts (international postal money orders) toward this sum should be sent directly to: Rt. Rev. Msgr. J. B. Rodrigues, R. C. Mission, Trikarpur, Cannanore District, Kerala, India.

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The lid is on in Chicago

WAITING FOR LBJ

DANIEL J. MALLETTE

On Aug. 26, 1968, the National Democratic Convention will open in Chicago's International Amphitheatre. The site selection committee surprised everyone by choosing Chicago, particularly since a huge section of the Amphitheatre's roof had collapsed during the final weeks of the Committee's deliberations. Miami Beach seemed generally more enticing and Houston was in LBJ's home territory. Nevertheless, the Committee picked Chicago. Publicly, the reason given was that Chicago's bid was higher, but everyone knew that the choice of Chicago was a dramatic gamble on the part of Lyndon Baines Johnson. He figured that two weeks after the Republican candidate was nominated in the plush surroundings of Miami Beach, strategically cut off by the causeways from any possible demonstrations originating in Miami, Lyndon Johnson would be nominated in the heart of Chicago, ten minutes distance from the teeming West and South Side ghettos. It was quite a gamble, but Johnson is not a reckless man. Evidently he was confident that Mayor Richard Daley and Congressman William Dawson could keep Chicago "up tight." They did it in the summer of 1967; they can do it again in 1968.

In 1966, Chicago had been the scene of a black rebellion, but not in 1967. Riots exploded in Newark, Detroit and Milwaukee, in Buffalo and New Haven, but Chicago remained quiet. According to city officials, Chicago's racial peace was due to their efforts to ameliorate the lot of the city's poor. And in fact, huge outlays of money for all kinds of programs were available from the Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity. But Chicago did not make the mistake of allowing the poor to plan their own programs. Mayor Daley is chairman of the Committee and not a penny went out except for "approved" programs, and every check issued was first passed through the Mayor's office.

Some analysts attribute Chicago's calm last summer to the policies of the now-retired Police Superintendent, O.W. Wilson. But he had been Superintendent during the disturbances of 1966. It might also be argued that Chicago's high proportion of black policemen helped keep the lid on. In my opinion, the prime reason for the cool summer of 1967 was repression. Daley runs a controlled city. The La Salle Street bankers want a city that functions smoothly and Daley provides it. Though tempered with a sprinkling of humanitarianism, his control is largely repressive.

Keeping the lid on in Chicago began the previous summer, specifically on Aug. 26, 1966. In a crowded room at the Episcopal Church's Diocesan offices, the famous "Summit Agreement" was reached between Martin Luther King and Chicago leaders. A tired Dr. King, in what probably was the worst bargaining maneuver of his career, announced that he would not lead an open housing march into Cicero, Illinois. A mountain of paper promises were then spewed out to save face for all concerned. Stage one was completed. Then the West Side slum house where Dr. King had lived was demolished and Al Raby, the gaunt product of the ghetto who had led the open housing fight in the beginning, went off to study the implications of black power. The Chicago Freedom Movement was dead; the open housing campaign was over. Chicago could function again.

The Summit Agreement was calculated to reassure the national public, generally nervous about urban riots, and to calm Chicago's economic establishment. Daley had fought and won. Now he had only to deal with the ghetto people whenever they threatened to get out of line. First City Hall used federal and private money to buy off discontent. When money failed, force was brought in. For those in the ghetto, the Summit Agreement was a farce, on a par with commissions created to enforce open housing, or "good neighbor week" which clutters TV with stories about black Ph.D.'s living in fancy suburbs.

Later in the year, Housing Secretary Robert Weaver came to Chicago to announce yet another plan for better housing for the poor, the rehabilitation of a ghetto boulevard. Flanked by the Mayor, and economic, political and religious leaders of the city, Weaver announced a new "plan." But ghetto residents were not fooled. "Plans" are announced almost weekly. Step one always is for the city to acquire ownership of all the buildings in the area or block to be rehabilitated. By the time that is accomplished the poor people are long gone. Not one new building has been erected on any of the sites thus vacated, even though city agencies promised new housing for them three years ago. All the new plans make fine reading for commuters on their way home from the downtown loop to the suburbs, but the poor have little faith in them.

Last January, when Chicago experienced the worst snowstorm in its history, the police moved in force to the

FATHER DANIEL J. MALLETTE, *together with two other priests, runs an experimental inner-city missionary parish in Chicago.*

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West Side, fearful that the storm might be used as a cover for a ghetto rebellion. And indeed there was widespread looting throughout the Chicago area, but some of it took place in the suburbs, where whites looted trucks on the expressways, and even in Mayor Daley's neighborhood a mail truck was pillaged. Yet, of the 250 storm-connected arrests made only four were whites, three were Mexicans and the rest were blacks, 90 percent from the West Side.

The blacks then got a sample of Chicago justice. In a preliminary evaluation of the bail procedures followed after the storm, the Illinois Division of the American Civil Liberties Union revealed that Constitutional guarantees of reasonable bail were consistently violated. Bonds reportedly were set at $20,000 in 60 percent of the cases. (The highest average bail in similar cases in Chicago's Municipal Court had been $4,300.) Counsel was not appointed to represent defendants at the time bail was set and judges refused to grant hearings to reduce bail. Defendants unable to post bail were kept in jail for three weeks before the courts even determined whether there was probable cause to hold them.

I attended scores of hearings and trials of alleged looters. One case was typical. A young father of three children, who had two jobs, one at the Post Office, was an Army veteran with an honorable discharge and no previous police record, had gone out one night during the storm to buy milk for a sick baby and was picked up by the police two blocks away from home. He was denied a personal bond and clapped into jail.

Evidently the city fathers felt the people of the ghetto had to be taught a stern lesson. As a result, men are serving long jail sentences for allegedly picking up a transistor radio. "Copping a plea" was the final resort of many. An alleged looter, charged on several counts, would be advised to plead guilty to a lesser charge. When the accused saw a half dozen policemen prepared to swear to God that they had seen him inside a store one night, and when he was told that if he asked for a jury trial he would receive a much higher sentence than if he pleaded guilty to a lesser charge, he gave up and pleaded guilty. As one man put it, "Who would take a black man's word against four cops, two white, two black?"

It was a hard winter and spring for the people of Chicago's ghettos. Mr. George Jennings was shot point blank one morning at a busy West Side intersection. Nine people waiting for a bus across from the laundromat where Jennings was killed said he was helplessly drunk when a policeman shot him. The police officer claimed that Jennings had attacked him with a knife. The Homicide Bureau and the Coroner's Jury called it "justifiable homicide."

On March 30th, Ronnie McDowell, 17, was shot to death by a Transit policeman. A group of CTA police were staked out at the elevated station at the fringe of the ghetto, where many whites transfer on their way home from jobs downtown. The policemen claimed Ronnie had attacked him with a knife, but two eyewitnesses swear that Ronnie had no weapon, that in fact he had his hands up and was facing the wall. The pathologist's report and photographs of the corpse show that the bullet entered the back of the boy's head and lodged in his forehead. I know that's true; I saw his body. The police never interviewed the witnesses. The verdict of the coroner's jury: justifiable homicide.

When summer came and Detroit erupted, Chicago's West Side began to boil over. Daley acted quickly. The National Guard Armory was filled with modern weaponry; the troops at Fort Sheridan were on 24-hour alert. In the bickering between Michigan's Governor Romney and President Johnson over ordering the Army to Detroit, nobody ever mentioned that the Fort Sheridan troops were nearby; they were never sent to Detroit; its riot-quellers came from the South. Those at Fort Sheridan were needed on Chicago's West Side.

Chicago's South Side ghetto also had a flareup. A liquor-store owner killed a black man; a girl was arrested and violence threatened, but Daley's control held fast and the sparks were extinguished. Jay Miller, Executive Director of the ACLU here summarizes the Chicago method of handling trouble in the ghetto:

"The police move in quickly on any volatile situation which attracts attention within the ghetto. As a 'preventive' measure, many persons are arrested, including those who may be innocent bystanders but who did not 'move fast enough.' The police claim that they simply wish to break up groups which they deem potentially dangerous before trouble flares. They may very well expect that after a brief 'cooling off' period, most of those arrested will be released on bond. It is even doubtful whether they are prepared to press criminal charges against all whom they arrest in such situations. Most of those arrested are simultaneously charged with mob action, disorderly conduct and interfering with a police officer or, alternatively, resisting arrest. All are misdemeanors. However, the Court, apparently out of indignation, fear or overwork, routinely sets bail at $5,000 to $50,000 at the request of the Corporation Counsel and without the benefit of a hearing to determine if there was probable cause for arrest . . . In effect, the mere act of an arrest in an admittedly tense and volatile situation means imprisonment for a week or longer. All this without a fair bail hearing."

In mass arrests, it is often a magistrate who hears cases. A magistrate is not elected; he is appointed year by year and if he wants his contract renewed he follows the Chicago method. If he is particularly compliant he may one day be made a judge. Thus Chicago justice.

The lid is on in Chicago. Now and then a protest is made over this or that killing, but then there are mass arrests for mob action or people are bought off with government grants, new jobs or perhaps the local Democratic machine stages a fancy funeral for the deceased.

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Daley is still effectively in control and LBJ has gambled that he can keep a tight rein through one more summer. It remains to be seen whether he can.

Last September, a black high school boy named Kenneth Alexander was shot to death by a white policeman. The young Alexander lived on the slightly more affluent South Side of the city, however, and he was an honor student and on the football team. His neighborhood has semi-independent politicians and stronger community organizations than poorer sections of Chicago. After a quick finding of "justifiable homicide" in his case, the police department suddenly reversed itself and reopened the investigation. The policeman claims he tripped and his gun went off, but eyewitnesses to the killing insist he took careful aim at the fleeing youth. It may be that Kenneth's death will trigger new investigations into the deaths of other black people and beyond that into Chicago's whole corrupt system, especially the tradition of coroner's juries in which 75-year-old political hacks fall asleep as they prepare predetermined verdicts on police slayings.

The rest of winter, spring and most of the summer must pass before LBJ's convention in Chicago. How much longer can Daley hold on? Will he be able to keep Chicago up tight until August? I don't think so. LBJ's gamble is far riskier than he imagines.

SMASHING, THAT'S WHAT

THE SCREEN

It's comedy time again, so here are some notes on the recent grab bag of funnies that may help you decide which is your meat and which your poison. Meatiest of the lot comes from England where a couple of "Beyond the Fringe" boys cooked up a mod version of the Faust theme and called it "Bedazzled." Glittering and bedazzling it often is, as Peter Cook playing the Devil grants Dudley Moore, as a dumb short-order cook hopelessly in love with a waitress, seven wishes in exchange for Moore's soul. Moore centers each wish on Margaret, the waitress, who is very well played by Eleanor Bron in the seven varied episodes. Even though the Devil begins to pity and be fond of his victim, he frustrates him on every wish, and the results are quite amusing. Produced and directed by Stanley Donen, "Bedazzled" is more like a series of nightclub skits than a straight-plot comedy, but there's enough ingenuity in Peter Cook's screenplay to keep you awake and laughing. Some viewers may find a few of the satirical touches (like Raquel Welch's bedazzling, full-busted portrait of Lilian Lust; or the flying nuns of the trampoline order) rather irreverent, but they should remember this Faust is neither Marlowe nor Goethe but beyond the fringe.

Another import from England, "Smashing Time," means to go much farther out, but goes so far out and beyond fringes that you're never with it. George Melly's screenplay starts out with a good idea: show what happens to a couple of naive, hell-bent-for-glamour girls from the industrial North on a spree in London. And the film begins well enough with two very fine comedians, Rita Tushingham and Lynn Redgrave, as the put-upon little and the bossy big, arriving in the city and hitting straight for Carnaby Street. But director Desmond Davis, who seems to think slapstick is funnier than satire, lets his clever girls and the whole movie go haywire. His two restaurant scenes, one with lots of catsup squirting, and the other with pie-throwing, and his later scene at an opening of an art show with paint being sprayed all over the guests, run on endlessly—to the point of boredom. Some of the dialogue is amusing, but unfortunately much of the slang expressions are unfamiliar and the actors' accents so heavy that one can hardly follow what's being said. Rita and Lynn. however, are fine, and so are the good supporting players, especially Irene Handl, Michael York, Anna Quayle and Ian Carmichael (who does a near-seduction scene involving both of the girls that is the high point of the film). Too bad that "Smashing Time" isn't all of this caliber. Mod London and Carnaby Street are ready for the raspberry.

No doubt the makers of "Smashing Time" had the Laurel and Hardy comedies in mind when they made their picture with Rita and Lynn. I wish they had seen the new compilation produced by Hal Roach and called "The Crazy World of Laurel and Hardy." It is a collection of scenes from old films, mostly talkies, made by the masters; and while it is not the best of the compilation-type movies, it is so well stocked with the misadventures, slapstick and poignant moments of skinny Stan and fat Ollie that it provides plenty of laughs. I'd have preferred longer extracts from the various films (like "Bohemian Girl," "Way Out West," "Music Box" and some others) rather than so many similar gags in quick succession, gags which are hilarious but become less funny through repetition. But this compilation does what it sets out to do: show us the crazy and wonderful world of Laurel and Hardy.

Another comedy that has a good idea and starts well is "The President's Analyst," in which James Coburn, as a New York psychiatrist, is chosen to go to work on and for our President. A good plot based on this theme could have worked, but once he got started, director-scripwriter Theodore J. Flicker didn't know where to go next. He has Coburn get caught between foreign secret agents, who want to kidnap him and find out what the President's been saying, and the F.B.I. who also want to know what's going on between analyst and patient. Not satisfied even with this kind of chase and fight, Flicker introduces satire on everything else in the U.S. Hippies, suburbanites and the telephone company are among the fall guys for Flicker's gags;

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and the burlesquing eventually becomes an endless hodgepodge. We never see or hear *the* President. Now *there* would have been something for a Swiftian movie.

One often wonders what starts writers on their scheme for a movie. Surely scriptwriters Stanley Shapiro and Nate Monaster must have thought it would be pretty funny to have some fellow (like Dean Martin) think that a very pretty girl (like Stella Stevens) is the mistress of his good friend (Eli Wallach). So Martin, considering Stella a tramp, decides to show Eli how awful this girl really is; and he sets her up in a love nest in a large apartment building, but little realizes that the married Eli's real mistress (Anne Jackson) lives in the next apartment. Even Shakespeare in one of his mistaken-identity comedies couldn't have thought up anything crazier. But Shakespeare at least would have made all this funny. This movie called "How To Save a Marriage—And Ruin Your Life" is tasteless and unfunny. I doubt if even a couple of Shakespeare's songs could have helped—much. PHILIP T. HARTUNG

BOOKS

Gabriel Marcel and the ontological mysteries

Problematic Man

GABRIEL MARCEL

Herder & Herder, $3.95

WALTER ARNOLD

Ariadne is the title of one of Gabriel Marcel's better known plays. The myth of Ariadne, the thread leading out of the labyrinth, very well symbolizes both Marcel's philosophical and dramatic writing. He speaks of his plays, in which his philosophy is incarnated, as "dramas of the soul in exile." And his philosophical essays always have a dramatic quality; plot of a kind is as important in them as thought and more important than thesis. One should remember that philosophy for Marcel is interrogation more than it is statement; it may be methodical but it can never really be systematic. At his best, as in *Problematic Man,* Marcel follows the path of a leading idea engrossingly—a winding path (*chemin sinieux*), but true to the routes of the mind. The *Homo Viator* of Marcel's best known book of essays is, after all, Man the Wanderer who is also Man the Wayfarer.

This book is a felicitous translation by Brian Thompson of two of Marcel's pieces of the '50s, when the postwar consciousness of "postmodern man's" uprootedness was most acute. The first, title essay considers the question, "Under which conditions has man become, in his entirety, a question for man?" The second consists of a series of brief chapters, *causeries* dealing with the themes of uneasiness, anxiety and anguish, so central to modern and especially "existential" literature. Marcel shares with the reader some brief insights into such figures as the Stoics, St. Augustine, Pascal, Goethe, Hegel, Gide and Sartre. Through these studies Marcel aims at a positive and Christian evaluation of dis-ease and anguish, showing that they can be "ways to grace" as well as "blocks" to it.

Obviously Marcel's subjects in these pieces are extremely subtle essences, as hard to grasp at times as fog or smoke, even if like these at times possible to localize and view. Moreover, though he does not lose sight of the concrete human phenomena with which he begins, the author's writing tends to become over-wrought with associated ideas and reified abstractions. No wonder more "scientific" and "analytic" thinkers tend to leave such "messy" themes alone. Philosophy for them deals with "problems," i.e., issues resolvable into clear and distinct ideas, or it is merely subjective "expressionism?"

But for Marcel, as for Heidegger and Sartre, philosophy must consider primarily the "mystery of being" (or "being") in one's personal life-situation, or it is merely a "language game." And though it is not possible to "solve" such ontological mysteries, Marcel holds that it is possible to deepen one's awareness of their meaning and value. One must admit, for example, that his analysis of the function of memory in the search for integrity of personal life is powerful and persuasive. He holds, of course, that it is impossible to understand "problematic man", who senses himself a "displaced person," without taking account of his relation to Being and to what has been called God.

"Might not the death of God, in the exact sense that Nietzsche has given to these words, be at the origin of the fact that man has become for himself a question without an answer?" This, as Marcel shows, can make sense even to someone who thinks he does not take a "religious" point of view. But since the divine obituaries read differently depending upon who is writing, it should be made clear that for Marcel it is the cosmological god of the Aristotelian-Thomistic tradition, god the prime mover and first cause who is dead. Yet "contrary to the tendency which persists nowadays among many philosophers unacquainted with any religious experience . . . I remain convinced that it is only in relation to grace that human freedom can be defined in depth." I leave to the interested reader the discovery of how Marcel conceives the divine reality in view of the death of God, if that way of speaking makes sense.

The question about "problematic man" is, who and where is he? Are the expounders of alienation, dread and an-

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guish in popular "existential" culture "problematic men" or complacent publicists? Are they guilty of "bad faith" who do not choose to dwell on the absurd in the least degree, but try to work steadily for the betterment or adornment of man's brief span? The "love of anxiety" in so much that passes as "existential" can be most self-centered and unreal. Even Marcel prefers to be called "neo-Socratic" rather than "existential," since the latter has tended to become doctrinnaire.

But for him "problematic man" is more nearly a term of honor, since it suggests that one is open to meaning and "response-ability." In this sense one could wish for more such "problematic men," in our society at least. It seems true, as Marcel observes, that both Sovietism and Americanism work toward "establishing everywhere a state of affairs which tends to get rid of uneasiness and anguish." Witness the attitude toward death and war in both countries. Perhaps if we had more of Marcel's kind of "problematic man" in the government, we would not have the kind of false priorities of national "commitment" we have now.

For all of the difficulties of understanding and applying it, we need very much, at this time and in this country, the kind of attention that such writers as Marcel give to the human phenomenon. We have had quite enough of those approaches to man and "explanations" which either confine him to one dimension or effectually decapitate him. "A being whose most profound originality consists perhaps not only in questioning the nature of things, but in interrogating himself regarding his own essence, is situated by this very fact beyond all the inevitably partial answers to which this interrogation can lead." We need to hear that, and also this: "the Christian cannot fail to take pity on even the worst deviations of his brothers, far from looking down on them with condescension or scorn, as the sage tends to do who believes himself exempt or cured of these weaknesses."

There is, of course, an attitude and a temperament in the American character which finds it hard to link up with such "metaphysical concern" as Marcel's in this book. Yet as a study of such otherwise diverse thinkers as William James and Henry Thoreau can show, Marcel's kind of concern is central to the characteristic American philosophical tendencies, whether of pragmatism truly understood or transcendentalism. It is a curiosity worth pondering that Marcel admits a primary debt to American thought in the freeing of his own from soporific ideas. By the same token, it will be well if the effect of an increasingly wide readership of such open "existential" literature as Marcel's will be to recall us to our own most profound and useful traditions.

The Labor Revolution

GUS TYLER

Viking, $6.50

WILLIAM B. GOULD

It is not demeaning to Gus Tyler's *The Labor Revolution* to say that it is an unabashed apology for the current state of the American labor movement and an optimistic assessment of its failure. Although the book is given to a bit of exaggeration (i.e. "Millions of American workers have learned the skills of government on the playing fields of the local union"), it is refreshing to get away from the wailing and weeping which has seemed, at times, to drown out labor's constructive achievements as a sponsor of legislation which benefits the community at large as well as in its role of representative for its members.

Tyler is correct in emphasizing the advanced nature of the labor movement's economic program; equally significant is his reference to the new grievance procedures and impartial arbitration that have come into existence in basic industries like autos, steel and rubber during the past 20 to 30 years. As Tyler says, "the boss has come to respect the rights of the workers and the workers have come to tolerate the rules of the boss. Organized labor has created the economic middle class and the emotional middle ground that provide strength and cohesion to our democracy."

The pity is, however, that this book has been published simultaneous with Walter Reuther's trenchant analysis of what is wrong with the AFL-CIO leadership and organized labor as an entity. While Tyler tells us what is right with the labor movement, Reuther has said in a recent speech that George Meany blocked potential organizational efforts where only *one* Executive Council member feared that they would tread upon his jurisdiction. Similarly, Reuther has chided Meany for his reluctant acceptance of the notion that the AFL-CIO should be at the front lines in the farm workers' struggle.

The continuing scandal of segregated job patterns (skilled jobs held by whites profiting from segregated seniority rosters which is acquiesced in and sometimes encouraged by industrial unions and the exclusionary tactics of the craft unions somehow misses Tyler's attention. But the latter, at least, has been attacked by Reuther. (One cannot leave this particular subject without noting that Tyler's own ILGWU—with its heavy Negro membership, most of whom are in unskilled, low paying, pushboy jobs—does not have *one* Negro business manager.)

Although it is often difficult to distinguish between what the author would like the labor movement to be, what he thinks it will be, and what it is, it should be said that several recent developments make his thesis of a resurgent, vibrant labor movement a very plausible one. Brendan Sexton of the UAW has just discussed anew the relationship between trade union growth and full employment and the implications for this phenomena of Keynsian economics as an accepted way of life in this country. And Tyler points to the great success that the unions have had with professional people such as teachers and nurses, as well as the whole spectrum of public employees. He may be right in his prediction that this excitement will spread into the entire white collar sector—especially when one considers that increasing numbers of white collar workers are bound to bring with them new and more de-personalized employer-employee relations.

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Also, *The Labor Revolution* is sound in calling attention to the revolutionary breakthrough that was achieved through the organization of California farm workers and the fact that it may presage future events with other working poor." The point at which the author's treatment of this general subject seems to flounder, however, is his optimistic discussion of the "new Negro," and his relationship with the "new labor movement."

No sensible person disputes the notion that a coalition between these two groups is highly desirable. But, until some of the craft unions stop resisting "affirmative action" and the industrial unions begin to reform seniority arrangements which have disadvantaged Negro workers, it will appear as though labor only wants a coalition on its own terms. One of the sad things about this book is its rationalization of craft union nepotism on the ground that business does the same thing when, in fact, that method of favoritism has never been more out of fashion in management circles.

Delano

JOHN GREGORY DUNNE

Farrar, Straus, $4.95

VICTOR SALANDINI

Initial reaction to John Dunne's *Delano* has been largely favorable. Most reviewers have been impressed by his amount of first-hand knowledge and by his apparent objectivity. I regret to have to present something of a dissent. The story of the struggle of the Delano grapeworkers for dignity and security, through collective action, is so important and stirring that it should be widely told. For that reason it would be nice to be able to recommend Dunne's account without reservation.

But my own first-hand knowledge of, and involvement in, many of the developments with which Mr. Dunne deals leads me to conclusions markedly different from his. In all fairness, I believe that he has tried to be objective; but his analysis of the role that the AFL-CIO played in Delano and his judgments concerning Cesar Chavez's part in developing the relationship with AFL-CIO, including merger, reveal a deep-seated distrust, amounting to a bias, of institutions as such—whether they be unions or other—and this distorts his account. He believes that once a social *movement,* like the farm-workers' drive, becomes a part of a structured organization, like the AFL-CIO, it is doomed to failure, because it inevitably loses its vital and original impulse. Somewhere along the line, he suggests, the "romance" is lost.

Dunne's attitude toward Chavez undergoes a change whenever he contemplates Cesar's involvement with AFL-CIO. This profile of Cesar is therefore lopsided. He throws in "knowing" evaluations of Chavez' personality and character. In viewing "Anglos," Cesar "is just short of pathologically suspicious." He also says of Chavez that, "as a proud man, he is cognizant of the fact that he could become a figurehead . . ." Dunne quotes Saul Alinsky, apparently with agreement, to the effect that Chavez, "doesn't like unions. He thinks they're all a bunch of rackets." Repeatedly, Dunne suggests that Chavez is torn between loyalty to the welfare of his workers and continued subordination to the AFL-CIO.

But does Chavez basically spurn unionism? Let him speak for himself. "If the farm worker of America, especially the migrant, is to have any measure of his fair share of the good life, then he will have to struggle for it. In such a struggle, his greatest asset is himself and his fellow worker banded together in an organization dedicated to the mutual benefit and improvement of all. This is the definition of unionism. . . . That is why the farm worker today is a unionist and an AFL-CIO unionist" (*The American Federationist,* May 1967).

Attention to detail should mark any definitive study of a phenomenon like the Delano developments. Yet Dunne's presentation of the facts is often sloppy. For example, in describing my arrest along with Cesar Chavez, the Rev. Wayne Hartmire, and ten workers at the Borrego Springs ranch of the Di Giorgio

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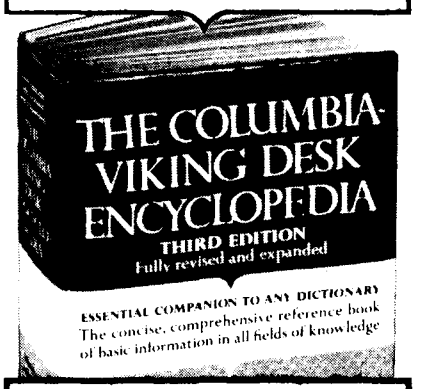
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corporation, Dunne said that it had been preceded by a walkout of only ten workers. Actually, closer to a hundred workers had left the ranch. The indignities Dunne describes in his account of the arrest applied to all, without exception, although Dunne suggests there was some sensitivity on the part of the jailers toward my Roman collar.

Criticism of this book must include the observation that Dunne does not give proper credit to the role of the Catholic Church, and its representatives, in this long struggle. So far as I was able to note, only two priests are mentioned by Dunne—Father Vizzard, S.J., and myself. The reader might well think we were the only priests on the scene. This, of course, is not true. Many priests played vital roles in different phases of the workers' drive toward collective bargaining. To his credit, Dunne does recognize the marvelous work of the Migrant Ministry.

The greatest defect of the book is the insistence that the momentum of the farm workers' drive must be impaired by the transformation from a "protest" movement to a structured organization. Effective organization is suspect in his eyes. It is unfortunate that he was unable to curb this bias, for without it his work could stand as a great contribution to La Causa.

Numbers

JOHN RECHY

Grove Press, $5

IRVING MALIN

John Rechy uses an epigraph from the Bible: "It was always so; during the day the Dwelling was covered by the cloud, which at night had the appearance of fire." He wants to give us an apocalyptic novel, but he does not succeed in transforming the case history of his hero.

Driving toward Los Angeles ("the city of fallen angels"), Johnny Rio sees on the highway "bands of spectral birds clustered on the pavement." They appear to be "mysteriously involved in some suicidal ritual." They signify Death to him. I have capitalized the word because Rio is so struck by the vision of the birds—and, as we shall see, by everything else—that he soon plunges into thoughts about fate: "He imagines a roster, with everyone in the world—past, present, future—numbered (as in that book of the Bible in which Moses is commanded by God to take a census of his people): all listed neatly in long, thin, tight columns." Such unearned thoughts are "big" only because he insists that they are.

The false apocalypse continues. After he arrives in the Cloudy Dwelling, Rio begins to hustle, as he did three years ago. He visits movie theaters, parks and restaurants, trying desperately to gain thirty "contacts" in ten days. He achieves his goal. But he is not content to be compulsively sexual—he must convince us (and himself) that his hustling is a ritualistic attempt to strike back at Death. Again he does not compel us to "suspend our disbelief." Although he may view his sexual climaxes as religious, he leaves us with the feeling that they are merely narcissistic.

Why does Rio hustle? What makes him want to be *adored*? Why should he view the world as a prophet of doom? Such questions intrigue us. But we are not given any complete answers. He has little substance; he simply *comes and goes*. Although he tells us a little about his parents and home town, he does not reveal enough to establish himself. It is too easy to claim that Rio is searching for his identity by means of hustling. He does have an identity, but he wants to keep it secret. The situation is ironic: he "tells all" but says nothing. Thus when we reach the end of his "numbers"—at least for the time being—we cannot share his joy. (Or is it despair?) We do not understand why he should feel elated after reaching number 37. It makes little difference to us because he has not grown enough to become human—let alone prophetic.

At times Rechy intrudes to demonstrate the spiritual inadequacies of Rio. He points out his compulsiveness and narcissism—especially when he runs to pose in front of the Mirror—but he is too close to him to be satirical. It is apparent that he identifies with him. He puts himself into Rio's consciousness,

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REVIEWERS

WALTER ARNOLD is a free-lance writer and critic.

WILLIAM B. GOULD has served as an attorney-adviser in the labor relations field.

FATHER VICTOR SALANDINI is writing a doctoral thesis on some of the issues raised by the Delano strike.

IRVING MALIN is the editor of *Truman Capote's In Cold Blood: A Critical Handbook* (Wadsworth).

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and he never tries to escape from it. He refuses to comment on the crazy sexual contacts in Griffith Park; he merely dwells lovingly upon them and calls them meaningful. He does more: he heightens his own language—trees, benches, and "sexhunters" become "mysterious"—and he slips easily from apocalypse to parody. Consider the following passage: "Even Pacific Ocean Park has felt the nearly fatal blow of the City Authorities. Desolate and sad. Like an abandoned movie set after the movie is completed. You have the feeling that if you go behind the restaurants and shops—most of them closed—you'll find stilts supporting cardboard buildings." "Nearly fatal blow," "desolate and sad," and "abandoned movie set" demonstrate that he employs Romantic commonplaces instead of fresh vision. As if this were not enough, he brings us ("you have the feeling") into the picture. But we don't "have the feeling," even when he (or Rio) informs us that the sky "augments the feeling of desolation." Perhaps Rechy is so involved with his forced, ineffective, and fashionable symbolism—from the biblical Numbers to the sexual numbers; from the Cloud to the Mirror—that he cannot take the time to describe private details imaginatively.

Numbers does not help us find sexual or religious salvation; it simply puts us to sleep.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 551)

possible. Marxist societies, as we know them, enjoy a sense of collective solidarity and individual worth in that collectivity, but without any assurance that their processes of commitment contain an inner system of checks and balances whereby error and manipulation can be detected.

Thirdly, Marcuse leaves his readers in an iron circle of dialectical determinism, or what Ronald Laing, the British psychoanalyst, has called the "cyclic" aspect of dialectics. The question Marx failed to answer, "after labor, what?", Marcuse attempts to brook in the concept of eroticism. But it is a closed eroticism, going nowhere, caught in pure immanence. Marcuse's political sympathies with totalitarianism may, in fact, be only the expression of his belief, and perhaps personal experience, that Eros finally leaves man, individual or collective, within himself. This experience, I need hardly add, should not be man's final judgment of Eros.

Finally, Callahan opts against Marcusian intolerance with the inadequate remark that non-violent resistance is not much "but it is something." What would he propose against those for whom nonviolence is nothing? More violence? Resistance against those disbelievers in nonresistance? And is not this an issue, perhaps, finally, *the* issue in Vietnam? Callahan cannot have it both ways: opting for inalienable freedom and a slower-perhaps-approach to truth and justice for Americans, while allowing the risks that he himself sees in the Marcusian approach to envelop Asians. One can't help feeling that Callahan wants to be anti-Communist without being known as one. DAN SULLIVAN

Reply

I'm sorry to say anti-Communism wasn't at all on my mind when I wrote about Marcuse. I don't mind being known as anti-Communist; if anyone cares, I am anti-Communist. So much for that.

But I can't quite see what all that has to do with Marcuse's thesis and my critique of it. What difference does it make if Marcuse's view of "repressive tolerance" owes something to Lenin? Does that necessarily discredit its validity? A much more important source of Marcuse's thought is his own analysis of the dynamics of a technological society; some of the most interesting passages in *One-Dimensional Man* are those in which he shows the irrelevance of a proletariat-centered ideology for a technological society.

On the "necessary *hierarchy* of freedoms" Mr. Sullivan mentions, the key problem is that we *have* been "conned out of our freedom to be authentic par-

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ticipants" and the "enhanced spiritualization coming from meaningful commitment." Mr. Sullivan thinks that somehow these losses are compensated by the possibility of a "nagging awareness." I don't think this is adequate compensation at all; if our awareness can't (or doesn't) issue in participation and commitment, it remains sterile, just an intellectual game played in the parlor of our brain.

I'm not sure whether Marcuse's concept of eroticism is as closed as Mr. Sullivan thinks. On this point Marcuse borrows Freud's notion of Eros as a dynamic instinct seeking to encompass a wider and wider circle of human relationships. The end result for Freud, and for Marcuse, is not clear, but I would agree that it could be read as immanentistic. That in any case is the way I would *prefer* to read it: why does eroticism have to go anywhere? A profound weakness in Christian sexual theorizing, which Mr. Sullivan doesn't escape, is wanting the erotic to go somewhere beyond itself. I like the erotic even if it doesn't go anywhere.

On Mr. Sullivan's final point, I readily concede the power of his critique and the dilemma he poses. But he misconstrues the issue as I posed it, which concerned the moral rights and effectiveness of those who have decided, in conscience, that they must resist. The context of such decisions these days is the judgment that however distasteful the possibility of a Communist-dominated South Vietnam, it is less distasteful and morally repugnant than the present destruction of North and South Vietnam in the name of "freedom" and "self-determination." One must be alive to be free, and one must live in a country where the government is intent on making freedom possible. The American Air Force and troops are nullifying the first possibility and the past and present governments of South Vietnam have nullified the latter. DANIEL CALLAHAN

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More on Tone

Baltimore, Md.

To the Editors: This is, I suppose, a sort of melancholy love letter to *Commonweal,* and I only hope it is not as tiresome as its genre would indicate. In the past three years the magazine which, from the McCarthy era on, has been a source of refreshment, stimulation and pride to me, has become a magazine I open with an effort; not from the fear that my convictions or my prejudices may be shattered, but from the fear that the light which shone from its pages may be stifled under the bushel of smugness . . .

Commonweal once showed a flexibility, a lack of rigid affiliation, which was extraordinarily heartwarming, and argued—brilliantly—that unshaken convictions could sort out their own from the sickening confusion of labels. Recently, a humorless (though often witty), self-righteous and chillingly predictable tone seems present in its speech. There are, happily, chronic exceptions to this tone, but the element of shrillness and complacency frightens even more than it saddens. A great many good people assess situations, about which they

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agree in principle, in totally different manners. Shatter their stance with facts, by all means; but need they be treated as hypocrites or villains? There seem to be enough of both without swelling the rolls. On the other hand, among the camp followers of virtue, many jackals are knowledgeable, articulate and avaricious of publicity. Speaking in a congenial cause, they remain what they are. Must Virtue-by-Association become our slogan?

Must a respect for the sincerity of motive of the man who honestly and thoughtfully differs, be considered incompatible with the lively and uncompromising assertion of social, political and religious convictions? Must those be ruled out who—like Samuel Beckett —by temperament question the cure-all quality of the things which we know we must still wholeheartedly pursue, or those who dislike the bargain-basement prose which often reaches us from the altar and the pulpit? Those who question whether the poetic power present in language, vestment and gesture, must be relegated to the plays of Jean Genet? Must the debate on celibacy—the profoundly complex subjects of the distribution of energy, that element in art, courage and religion—be debased to the level of rebuke for a puritanical school teacher who espouses the censoring of a high school play?

Certainly, this tone of didacticism does not dominate *Commonweal;* but it has become a strong strain. Perhaps all that this letter can say is that it seems to a lover and reader of *Commonweal* that one more of the dwindling voices of implacable charity has been diminished, and that this is hard to take in proportion as its clear sound has been, to mix a sorrowful metaphor, manna in a widening desert. JOSEPHINE JACOBSEN

Theology of Ministry

Columbus, O.

To the Editors: Peter Declan ("Trial by Laicization," Dec. 8) points out well the unjust treatment of priests who have asked permission to marry. . .

As in most cases of social injustice the real issue is deeper than the problem presented . . . The treatment of priests who leave the ministry and also the decision whether priests should be celibate will finally be decided on the issue: what *is* a priest? . . . We know that ministry is related to Word and Sacrament, to service and authority, to witness and to reconciliation. But we do not understand, as yet, the relationship between, nor the limitations of, these things . . . Articles like that of Peter Declan push us to study the theology of the ministry.

JOHN P. BRENNAN, C.S.P.

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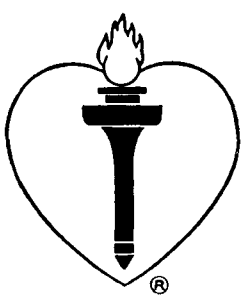

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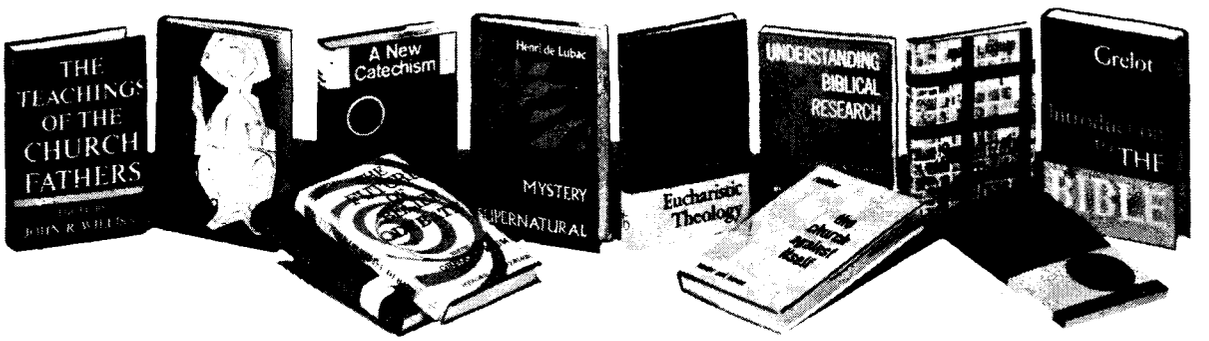

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